

CONGRESSIONAL HEARING TRANSCRIPTS

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TESTIMONY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE MELVYN LEVITSKY
BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS MATTERS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BEFORE
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

July 19, 1990

MR. CHAIRMAN:

The Committee has requested that the Department provide testimony on the current state of narcotics production and heroin control and U.S. Government programs and efforts to stem the growing tide of heroin availability in the United States. I am pleased to have this opportunity to review the challenges that face us in dealing with one of the most serious illegal drug threats facing this country.

The Administration is taking a serious look at the heroin situation, and, as described in the President's January drug strategy, has commissioned an interagency review of the worldwide heroin problem and strategy initiatives to improve our response to this threat over the next several years.

We are seriously concerned with the potential for a resurgence of heroin abuse in the United States, especially as the crack phenomenon begins to abate or as crack/cocaine users use heroin to temper their highs. Many drug abuse experts believe that a stimulant epidemic, such as we have undergone with cocaine, can easily be followed by the wide-scale use of a depressant, such as heroin. Some reports, however, such as recent data from the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN), note a levelling-off of heroin mentions in hospital admissions.

Currently, our greatest challenge is to reduce the production and availability of cocaine. We believe that the President's strategy and the continued and expanded cooperation of the international community are making inroads on this front, but much more still needs to be done. While we have placed an understandably high priority on the cocaine threat, I believe it is important not to lose sight of the heroin problem.

There is increasing evidence that the U.S. demand for cocaine markets are becoming linked with the demand for two drugs or taking heroin to use with cocaine to get high. Additionally, as our drug culture has shifted toward smoking crack, we are seeing the phenomenon of a dominated other opium culture--administration of opiates (heroin) in the U.S. by smoking. The U.S. demand for heroin smoking more attractive than ever before. We need only so much to interdict heroin around the U.S. and thus we need to work with producing countries to reduce the supply of opiates which has increased significantly in the past two years. What complicates our control effort is the fact that heroin comes from a wide variety of sources and is often produced in areas beyond either host country control or U.S. access.

POLICY INITIATIVES:

To target both the major producers and the states across which trafficking occurs, we are considering the following policy initiatives with regard to heroin production, sales and transit:

- o increased international assistance to, and pressure on, the governments of producer and trafficker countries to strengthen their political will and institutional capability to combat the drug trade;
- o continuation of cooperative program with host governments of countries affected by heroin traffic to increase the effectiveness of their law enforcement and military organizations and improve their legal systems;
- o improvements in law enforcement and interdiction efforts for better targeting of major trafficking organizations and international drug syndicates;
- o improvements in intelligence collection, analysis and coordination, and sharing of information;
- o continued provision of drug control and development assistance in countries where these strategies can be applied effectively;
- o expanded efforts to gain international cooperation on money laundering initiatives and the control of precursor chemicals;

- o augmentation of efforts to increase the national awareness of heroin supplier and transit countries about heroin use and its consequences, through research and public awareness programs;
- o the provision of specific information to supplier, transit and consumer countries on heroin treatment programs that research has shown to be effective; and the provision of advice, as appropriate, on effective prevention strategies.

The global nature of the heroin threat requires greater participation both by other developed countries and by the producer/trafficker countries to induce actions to expand control efforts. We will be working closely with those countries most able to share the burden, particularly the members of the European Community and Australia; the Economic Summit members (G-7), including Canada and Japan. Recently in Dublin, donor countries agreed to a U.S. initiative to form regional groupings to better coordinate drug control activities. Japan offered to lead a group of donors to better focus international efforts in Southeast Asia. In the future, there will be increased emphasis on joint measures, financial mechanisms and conspiracy laws to target money launderers, detect and seize traffickers' assets, and frustrate narcotics conspiracy.

As part of these ongoing international efforts, we will encourage the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC) to expand its programs and make them more effective in the major producing and trafficking regions. U.S. financial support to regional organizations will be provided on the basis of cost-effectiveness of programs in countries which the U.S. considers to be of high priority.

We will also encourage regional organizations such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to assume greater responsibility for playing an active role in suppressing heroin production and trafficking since ASEAN members are most affected by the ever-increasing amount of heroin available on the Southeast Asian market.

Although we want to assist the major producer and trafficker countries in developing and strengthening narcotics control programs, we also believe they should be held responsible for progress in stemming the flow of drugs. The certification process is also an instrument to help us obtain our objective of making countries accountable for their part in controlling the international drug trade.

While bilateral and multilateral assistance programs are important elements in heroin control, another important additive to successful narcotics control is public awareness in producer, trafficking and consumer countries. Governments can pass anti-drug laws and institute drug enforcement programs, but without widespread public cooperation, efforts are unlikely to succeed. For this reason, we will be seeking improvements in international and regional programs that have the effect of raising public and national leadership awareness of the nature, extent and consequences of heroin use.

As I have mentioned, successful efforts are needed to convince other nations of the world that heroin is a major menace demanding an expanded degree of international cooperation. The Houston Summit focused on drug control as a major developed country concern and heroin figured as part of that agenda.

In essence then, we must be able in the future to provide a higher profile to our concerns over the heroin problem. We must be able to back up our desire to combat the threat with concrete action in support of countries willing to attack the problem, as well as gain more access to and influence with those countries that currently are unable, or perhaps unwilling, to assist in the worldwide heroin control effort.

I would like to provide the committee with an overview of the situations in opium/heroin producing regions and important countries:

Southeast Asia (The Golden Triangle)

The Golden Triangle region, comprising Burma, Thailand and Laos is currently the major focus of concern. The National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee (NNICC) has reported that Southeast Asia has replaced Southwest Asia as the major source region for heroin entering the U.S. market. The heroin signature program--a chemical analysis of heroin seized in the U.S.--shows that over 50 percent of the samples analyzed are currently of Southeast Asian origin. Heroin seizures are up both in volume and purity of drugs available, especially in cities such as New York.

Southeast Asian opium production increased during the past several years, and especially during the 1988-89 growing season due to near-perfect weather conditions. The suspension of the U.S.-supported Burmese aerial opium eradication program after civil disturbances and the fact that we are just beginning to expand access to Laos further complicate opium control in that part of the world. As reported in the 1990 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR), production was also up in Thailand, although the concern in

Thailand remains heroin trafficking. Thai production has been reduced somewhat this year and over the long term has come down due to international efforts supporting Thai programs since the 1970's.

Our concerns in heroin control in the Golden Triangle are three-fold and can be categorized by the individual situations in the producer countries. Burma presents us with our most serious challenge, one of obtaining access and developing the present regime's or a new government's will to begin effective and well-monitored drug control programs.

During 1989 and this year, the Lao Government met markers set out by the Administration and appears to be making progress. However, we look forward to the Lao Government taking concrete steps to control the narcotics problem, including specific steps to control elements of the military still reported to be involved in the drug trade.

Thailand presents a series of challenges, the most obvious is dealing forthrightly with the Royal Thai Government (RTG) on the problem of corruption. We have made these concerns clear to the RTG in Washington and Bangkok. While Thailand was certified by the President as cooperating with the U.S. on drug control, we sent a clear message that the corruption issue must be addressed. We are also continuing to place strong emphasis on improvements to the legal system in Thailand. Preliminary reports on this year's opium production in Thailand are encouraging--a possible reduction in the crop of as much as 23 percent. Thailand's Parliament is also considering legislation on asset seizure and conspiracy.

In addition to the three countries in the Triangle, the United States and other countries are very concerned about the spillover of drugs being produced in the region to elsewhere in the developing world. We also worry that the expansion of the heroin smuggling trade to countries such as Malaysia, China, Bangladesh and India--all experiencing increases in trafficking and abuse--will require that more international resources be devoted to countries beyond the Golden Triangle.

BURMA

Burma is the world's major opium producing country. The 1988-89 crop exceeded 2600 metric tons of opium. This year's figures of Burmese production are not complete at this time but most experts agree that the capability for continued large-scale production exists and that control mechanisms are still absent. Trafficking and refining also continued unabated during 1989 and into 1990.

The regime in Rangoon reportedly reached tacit agreement with producer groups in the Shan States. The U.S. denied certification on narcotics to Burma in 1989 and again this year. The regime held a "drug burning" public ceremony early this year--DEA and Embassy representatives were invited--and has made some gestures toward improving its performance in drug control and enforcement. We note that the elections of May 27, when the regime was overwhelmingly repudiated by the Burmese people, has not yet moved the military to permit a new government to form. When and if a democratically elected government takes power, we may be able to initiate cooperative counternarcotics efforts with Burma. We continue to support DEA activities in Rangoon and are currently maintaining a flexible policy regarding support for possible enforcement efforts.

Until 1988, a year in which the Burmese eradication campaign reportedly reduced the crop by 12,500 hectares by the end of the growing season, the host government took steps to control opium cultivation, refining and trafficking, and the U.S. supported the world's largest aerial opium eradication program in INM's portfolio. The Burmese also carried out operations using Burma Army troops to interdict opium caravans. Under cooperative agreements, five thrush spray planes and over thirty helicopters were donated to Burma between 1974 and 1988. The program amounted to over \$80 million total funding for aviation support, training, demand reduction support and law enforcement commodities.

The major areas of opium production and heroin refining today generally remain beyond the control of the central authorities in Burma. These areas are the Shan States, with heaviest concentrations in the northeast Shan States, and the Kachin States in northern Burma.

Major refineries are located near the Thai border and in the Wa National Army (WNA), Kokang Chinese and Kachin Independence Army (KIA) controlled areas. Principal trafficking routes are out through Thailand, to India/Bangladesh and more recently through southern China, all of which have relatively uncontrolled borders with Burma.

The principal groups involved in the trade, some active for the past forty years, are the Shan United Army or SUA, led by the infamous Chiang Chi Fu, AKA Khun Sa who was indicted last year by the U.S.; the Kokang Chinese and WNA and the KIA, which controls the Kachin State in northern Burma.

The Burmese regime has benefited from the breakup of the Burma Communist Party (BCP), and is reportedly accommodating WA activities in the north, and supporting the WA group against Khun Sa's SUA.

LAOS

Laos took several steps during 1989 and early 1990 to begin cooperation with the United States on narcotics control, leading to full Presidential certification for the first time.

In September, Laos and the United States entered into a bilateral agreement on a crop control project which got under way shortly thereafter. Two Congressional delegations, including the delegation from this Committee, visited Laos during 1989 and 1990, and high-level State and DEA officials visited Vientiane to discuss narcotics cooperation, including the need for concrete enforcement steps. I visited Laos earlier this year and again pressed home the need for expanded cooperation on law enforcement with Lao officials.

Lao officials also participated in U.S.-sponsored drug training programs for the first time since the 1970's. In January, the U.S. and Laos signed a broad-ranging narcotics control agreement which commits the Lao to enforcement cooperation. A new criminal code, which the host government has reported was passed in 1989, includes penalties ranging from two to ten years for selling opium and refining and trafficking in heroin and other drugs. UNFDAC also started a project in Laos last year. DEA held its first INM-sponsored in-country training school in Laos this June. This course was successful and served to begin building more enforcement contacts and expertise in Laos. Additionally, Laos recently announced the arrest and fining of several marijuana traffickers in Vientiane province.

The U.S., however, continues to receive reports that some Lao military and civilian officials are involved in the drug trade, particularly the Military's Mountainous Area Development Corporation. We continue to monitor this situation to see if recent steps by the Lao Government to increase cooperation will lead to a reduction and possible elimination of the involvement of some Lao officials in the narcotics trade.

Opium production also increased in Laos due to higher yields resulting mostly from good growing conditions, as well as slightly expanded (four percent) areas of cultivation. Laos is now considered a major opium producer for the world market, with production in Laos up to 375 metric tons at the end of the 1989 growing season.

Most of the opium cultivation in Laos occurs in the more remote northern highland areas of the country. Opium cultivation has been traditional among the hill tribes of northern Laos for over 150 years. Following 1975, production and abuse of opium declined steeply, but production has increased in recent years. Suppression efforts in Thailand and

previously in neighboring Burma have also caused major trafficking organizations to move their activities to Laos, where they have been able to grow and refine opium in traditional areas that have not been easily accessible to authorities. The lure of profits, both for producers and traffickers, may have led to the involvement of Lao civilian and military officials.

Although we have seen some movement on law enforcement actions, as noted above, Laos still needs to undertake strong action against major trafficking enterprises. We are hopeful that we will be able to expand the cooperation that has begun between our two countries.

THAILAND

Thailand continued its long-standing cooperative effort with the U.S. and other countries on drug control during recent years. The increases in Golden Triangle opium production and heroin refining, especially in neighboring Burma, have amplified U.S. Government concern that more enforcement efforts on the part of the Royal Thai Government are needed to stem the flow of illicit drugs through Thailand--still the major conduit for drugs exported from the region. During my visit to Thailand this spring, I outlined these concerns to senior Thai officials.

Corruption continues to pose a significant problem in Thai enforcement efforts, as it does in most major drug producing and transit countries. The expansion of trade with Burma appears to have aided narcotics smuggling activities. Cross-border links for trade and security purposes promote ties with groups who also smuggle narcotics, leading to the potential for increased narcotics corruption among officials involved. To fight corruption, we have urged the Thai Government to enact long-pending asset seizure and conspiracy legislation, and the goal of introducing legislation to Parliament this year was met. Recent reporting from Bangkok, however, casts doubt about enactment of the new laws during the present session. Prime Minister Chatchai, during his recent visit to the U.S. and during meetings with President Bush, committed the Thai Government to increased cooperative control efforts.

U.S.-supported crop control and crop substitution programs continued in Thailand. Although the extremely good growing conditions produced the largest opium crop in recent years (estimated at 50 metric tons in the 88-89 growing season), Thailand remains an importer of opiates. The opium suppression campaign for this year's growing season proved to be more successful, with an early estimate showing a 23 percent reduction in opium yield (down to 38 metric tons). Thailand

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continues to support programs aimed at demand reduction and treatment to counter abuse in the country. DEA and U.S. Customs are represented in Thailand and UNFDAC programs have been under way for a number of years.

Opium has for generations been cultivated in the highland regions of northern Thailand. Some opium poppy is still grown by traditional users for local consumption, but the majority of the crop is produced to support illicit refining and consumption within Thailand by opium and heroin abusers. Insurgent/trafficking groups operating in Burma have often used the Thai side of the remote, ill-defined border as sanctuary. Thailand will remain a focus for U.S. concern due to the limited access we have with the other neighboring countries.

We have noted disturbing reports of heroin use among hill tribes in northern Thailand as well as reports from China concerning the abuse of heroin in southern Yunnan province. This trend mirrors the expansion of heroin abuse that we have seen in other countries within or near major producing regions such as India and Pakistan.

Southwest Asia (Golden Crescent) and Other Source Countries:

The Golden Crescent--Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran--produces a large share of the world's opium supply. Production increased from nearly 600 tons in 1984 to over 1,000 tons in 1989. The highest densities of poppy cultivation in Southwest Asia occurs along the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan and in the Helmand Valley in Afghanistan. Other widely scattered areas of cultivation are found throughout Iran and Afghanistan. In Pakistan, poppy growing is confined to the Tribal Areas of the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), which for geographic and political reasons is beyond Islamabad's effective control.

Opium production in Afghanistan--where all semblance of narcotics control ended with the 1979 Soviet invasion--has soared, according to some estimates. After peaking at 750 metric tons in 1988, the crop last year was smaller because of poor weather, and amounted to an estimated 585 metric tons. Second only to Burma in terms of world production, Afghanistan has emerged as the leading surplus producer in the region, funneling vast quantities of opium east to the heroin bazaars in Pakistan and west to the expanding markets in Iran. The tenacity of the Afghan trade is underscored by the fact that much of the growth in opium production occurred in the eastern mountains, the scene of some of the fiercest fighting in the civil war. Recent reports indicate that cultivation is declining in the Helmand Valley of south-central Afghanistan.

The shift of cultivation into less accessible areas is also reflected in Pakistan. According to estimates, opium production jumped 300 percent between 1984 and 1988 to about 200 tons--the highest output since the bumper harvests of the late 1970s--before falling sharply in 1989 to 130 tons, largely because of a drought during the planting season. Traffickers have abandoned traditional growing areas in the face of vigorous U.S.-backed government crop suppression efforts to concentrate cultivation instead in the rugged mountains adjacent to the Afghan border. This barren area, well beyond the control of Islamabad, has traditionally contributed only a small part of Pakistan's opium crop. Growers in this area, however, appear to be increasing production by capitalizing on the region's semiautonomous status--in which Islamabad entrusts primary law and order responsibilities to the tribes--and the government's refusal to challenge tribal sovereignty with eradication efforts.

Another opium safehaven exists in the mountains of Northwestern Iran. Inhabited by fierce, autonomy-seeking Kurdish tribesmen, this region has a long history of narcotics production and trafficking. Although narcotics production has probably fallen considerably in Iran under the regime's Islamic fundamentalist rule, fragmentary reporting from press and former Iranian Government officials suggests that several hundred tons of opium--mostly intended for domestic consumption--are produced annually. Reporting on trafficking across the Turkish border indicate that the western mountains continue to be a major growing area. Even though Tehran has taken draconian measures to quash the narcotics trade, including mass executions of traffickers, it has had little influence in the Kurdish areas. We believe the government's focus on staunching imports from Afghanistan and Pakistan and its apparent reluctance to assault drug producers near the Turkish border out of fear of upsetting relations with the tribesmen will allow drug trafficking in western Iran to prosper.

OTHER SOURCES

Additional supplies of illicit opiates are also available from Lebanon, India, and Guatemala. Analysis indicates that opium cultivation amounted to about 45 tons annually in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Previously, figures on Bekaa production were imprecise. Reporting also indicates that opium cultivation is continuing unabated. India, the world's largest producer of licit opium--some 600 tons in 1988--admits that some of its annual crop is diverted to the black market. Reporting indicates that opium is now being cultivated in Guatemala which may produce up to 14 metric tons from a three-crop-per-year cycle. Additional reporting indicates that the opium is refined into heroin in Mexico.

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The spread of refining to an increasing number of countries situated along the trafficking chain is further complicating efforts to stop heroin shipments. Turkish traffickers, for instance, continue to be significant heroin producers, drawing on large stocks of opium and morphine from Iran to circumvent Ankara's successful efforts to keep illicit opium production in check. Turkish authorities destroyed several laboratories that they claim were producing high-quality heroin for the West European and Middle Eastern markets. Many of these were crude sites established in the eastern mountains near Iran, but the raids last year have turned up several larger, more sophisticated operations in Istanbul, which indicates a growing effort by Turkish traffickers to become more active in the Western heroin trade.

Nigerian groups continue to expand their trafficking operations and arrests of Nigerian heroin couriers have taken place in Southeast Asia, especially in Thailand. This spread of trafficking organizations is an example of the difficult task facing control officials both in the United States and the other consumer countries and well as the producers themselves.

MEXICO

The Government of Mexico (GOM), under President Salinas, has made the fight against drug trafficking a high priority. The Attorney General's office heads the national campaign, which includes eradication, interdiction and demand reduction. Critics claim that the GOM is more interested in interdicting Colombian cocaine than in taking on the powerful Mexican opium lords. The GOM has, indeed, placed great emphasis on battling Colombian and other foreign traffickers but has demonstrated its willingness to address the domestic heroin problem as well. The GOM reports that it has eradicated 17,996 opium poppy fields and seized 228 kilos of opiates since January 1, 1990.

Cultivation of Mexican opium poppy has quadrupled since the early 1980s when the government's eradication effort tapered off. Opium production has been concentrated in four areas which comprise only four percent of Mexico's land mass. The four areas accounted for about 8,000 hectares of opium poppy cultivation in 1988 and for up to 6.7 metric tons of heroin available for the U.S. drug market. The largest growing region, the tri-state area--where the borders of Sinaloa, Durango, and Chihuahua converge--is just 300 miles from the U.S. border and, with a net cultivation in 1988 of about 4,800 hectares, is a significant source of heroin for the United States. The other large growing area--covering half of the interior of the state of Guerrero--is only one-third the size of the tri-state region and accounted for about 1,100 hectares of opium poppy in 1988. Mexican opium poppy cultivation has expanded primarily by increases in planting within the two main growing areas. However, some recent reports indicate production is moving beyond the tri-state region.

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Although cultivation is the least profitable stage in the heroin trade, illicit poppy growing is the most lucrative option for most poor farmers. Poppy is usually grown by independent subsistence farmers on their own plots or on controlled public or private land. Most opium poppy is cultivated in Mexico during spring, summer, and fall growing seasons, with plantings normally in October, February, and June, respectively, and harvests after five months. Farmers are clustering fields for ease of maintenance and to facilitate irrigation. Fear of interdiction is less of a factor than it was previously.

Mexican heroin refining processes generate a variety of products. Brown heroin has traditionally been the preferred Mexican variety among U.S. addicts, but the popularity of black tar heroin--substantially more potent--has been increasing in recent years and may account for the increasing numbers of overdose cases which have been reported. Mexican heroin is refined using simple, portable equipment in easily disguised, small labs which DEA estimates number in the hundreds. A variety of reporting strongly suggests that most refineries are in urban centers near the growing areas. All heroin processing chemicals are readily available on the legitimate market. The United States is Mexico's primary source of acetic anhydride, the critical chemical needed to convert morphine into heroin.

Historically, the production and distribution of Mexican brown heroin has been managed by several families thus making it extremely difficult for law enforcement to penetrate the decision-making level of the organization. The laboratories are usually small, rudimentary operations which are established at harvest time and are dismantled shortly thereafter.

In conclusion, I would like to note that the challenge of heroin control is perhaps more complicated and difficult than that posed by cocaine. The new interest shown by other donors and some producers themselves should enable us to make progress in controlling the spread of heroin trafficking and abuse in the future.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — *Extensions of Remarks*

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tary leadership also announced its intention to relinquish power shortly and vowed to hold multi-party elections. As we know, these promises were not fulfilled.

ASIAN HEROIN PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

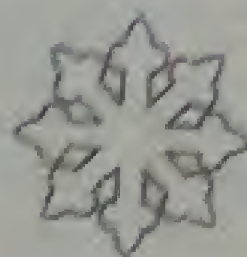
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October 5, 1989

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

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EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND
DEMOCRACY IN BURMA

HON. C. CHRISTOPHER COX

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1989

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD the text of a speech by Ms. Paula Dobriansky entitled "The Fight for Freedom and Democracy in Burma." It details the terrible abuse of human rights by the military dictatorship in Burma. Further, this speech sheds much light on the plight of the democratic Burmese students who fled to the Thai-Burma border following the violent suppression of prodemocracy demonstrations 1 year ago.

Paula Dobriansky is the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights. She delivered this speech on September 19, 1989, before the Federation for Human Rights and Democracy in Burma.

Ms. Dobriansky's insight into the situation in Burma is well worth each Member's close attention.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN
BURMA

(Speech by Ms. Paula Dobriansky)

A year ago, on September 18-19, the world witnessed bloodshed and violence on the streets of Rangoon. These tragic events were not an isolated episode in Burmese history. For a long time, the legitimate democratic aspiration of the Burmese peoples have been neglected and suppressed. In fact, since 1962, a repressive military government has ruled Burma, without either obtaining a mandate from the people or even respecting fundamental human rights. Large-scale indiscriminate killings, torture and arbitrary detentions have marked the regime's standard response to Burmese citizens' peaceful attempts to express their desire—and fundamental right—for a return to a multi-party democratic system. Regrettably, the most recent demonstrations culminated in yet another military crackdown.

While repression is not new in Burma, the extent of the repression of 1988 was unprecedented. Burmese law proscribes summary executions and the tenets of Buddhism—a faith with many followers in Burma—stress the sanctity of life. Yet, throughout 1988, lethal force was indiscriminately used by the dictatorial regime to crush peaceful demonstrations and expressions of political sentiment. In March and June alone, hundreds of courageous students paid with their lives to protest ruthless police brutality, repression of political rights and the government's mishandling of the Burmese economy. In August 1988, in just five days, reportedly more than 2,000 Burmese died at the hands of their government, although precise numbers will never be known. Only a month later in September, the military again indiscriminately fired without warning on peaceful, unarmed demonstrators—who were merely expressing their political beliefs. On those two tragic days, some 1,000 persons were killed. Ironically, as it was suppressing any opposition to its repressive rule by the massive application of force, the mili-

tary leadership also announced its intention to relinquish power shortly and vowed to hold multi-party elections. As we know, these promises were not fulfilled.

Since last year, the military regime has also sought to stamp out political opposition. By decree, gatherings of more than four persons are considered illegal and within only the last two months, thousands of members of the opposition political parties have been arrested in military roundups throughout the country. The entire leadership of the People's Progressive Party, and members of the Executive Committee of the League of Democratic Allies have been imprisoned. The regime has actively blocked the activities of Burma's most energetic, popular and respected political leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Burmese national hero Aung San. As the leader of Burma's largest opposition political party, the National League for Democracy, she has been under house arrest since July 20.

The regime's crackdown on dissent has been pervasive and ruthless. Torture, beatings and mistreatment of political prisoners are frequent and in some instances have resulted in death. In a number of cases, prisoners are crowded into small cells, knee deep in water or forced to stand in water while being interrogated. Sleep deprivation, beatings resulting in severe eye and ear injuries, electric shock to the genitals and other reprehensible torture tactics appear to be routine methods for questioning.

In addition, the judicial system, the police, and penal institutions have lost any semblance of independence, and have been turned into instruments of oppression. In July, local military commanders were bestowed with summary powers of trial and execution, resulting in accused persons being deprived of any legal means to defend themselves. Military tribunals, composed of people completely lacking in legal training, make the final determination on all cases, political or criminal. Defense lawyers are severely limited in what they are allowed to say and reportedly under warning that too vigorous a defense can result in negative consequences for both the client and the lawyer.

Human rights abuses have also continued to be inflicted upon the ethnic insurgents. For many years, the military has rounded up ethnic minorities and have pressed them into service as porters forced to carry heavy supplies and to walk in the vanguard of troops when ambushes, booby traps, or minefields were expected. Reports abound that following the military takeover of last September, the Burmese military has been using young ethnic Burmans for forced labor.

As a result of the continuing reprehensible violations of human rights, from three- to four-thousand Burmese students now find refuge in the Thailand-Burma border area. Any who have not fled the cities remain subject to arrest, torture and possible execution. Many of those who voluntarily returned to Rangoon in the aftermath of the coup were allegedly executed.

The 1988 coup dealt our hopes for progress toward democracy in Burma a severe setback. The Burmese people today live in a repressive, military state where political and civil liberties are restricted, allegations of torture, arbitrary detentions, and

executions abound, and the general living conditions are extremely poor.

Given these egregious human rights abuses and the suffering of the Burmese people, what are the prospects for free and fair elections next May, as promised by the present Burmese government? With the regime's campaign to eradicate any free political expression or opposition, it is difficult to conceive how a fair election will be held in May. Additionally, the government has taken steps to implement the election law in a way which appears to favor the National Unity Party, the successor to the Burma Socialist Program Party. The government has also stated that only elections to a Constituent Assembly will be held in May, with the military remaining in power until a new constitution is ratified.

Despite the rigid controls placed on society and brutal punishments meted out to members of the opposition, the courageous Burmese people have not been deterred in their struggle for freedom and democracy. Strong, relentless appeals for democratic change and reform ring loudly throughout Burma. This attitude is not surprising—courage and perseverance are traditional traits of the Burmese people.

What can and should the United States do to help the Burmese people in their valiant fight for freedom and democracy? Appropriately, the United States' response following the government's bloody crackdown on the demonstration last year was to suspend all U.S. economic and military assistance to Burma. In addition, we have repeatedly raised directly with the Burmese authorities and also in our public statements our concern about human rights violations in Burma. Throughout, we have sought to enlist the support of other nations. And our efforts have born fruit. Other democracies and international organizations have joined us in criticizing Burmese human rights violations and demanding a return to democracy.

For example, earlier this year, the United Nations Human Rights Commission issued a statement calling for the Burmese Government to take the necessary steps to assure human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of Burma. The Commission will also review cases of alleged human rights abuses when the full Commission meets in February and March of 1990. Meanwhile, on September 8, the European Community released a strong statement expressing its concern about the worsening human rights conditions and requesting that the Burmese authorities end repression and respect the Burmese people's desire to establish a democratic society through free elections.

Aside from our concern about continued human rights violations in Burma, we have been mindful of the plight of Burmese students who have taken temporary refuge in Thailand and near the Thai-Burmese border. We support the provision of continued timely humanitarian assistance to them to ease their stay. Private voluntary organizations functioning through the Burma Coordinating Group, are attempting to meet their existing needs. Despite these endeavors, such items as malaria pills, mosquito netting, food, essential medical commodities remain in short supply. We believe that

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

October 5, 1989

These efforts deserve backing and are exploring ways to assist them.

We are also committed to allowing entry into the United States of those Burmese who meet the criteria for refugee or parolee status. Several Burmese have already arrived in the United States under humanitarian parole status.

For years, the heroic Burmese people have been deprived of the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination. Nevertheless it is clear that using brute force against peaceful demonstrations is not the answer. No oppression, however awesome, can forever deny to the people the realization of their fundamental human and political aspirations. As Thomas Jefferson said, "the desire for freedom is universal." History, through the passions and energies of freedom-loving men and women has a way of rejecting sooner or later, non-viable ideas and solutions. Sooner or later the dream of the Burmese people will be realized. It is toward this goal that we should all strive.

INTRODUCTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL AND SOUTH PACIFIC FORESTRY COOPERATION ACT OF 1989

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1989

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing awareness of the need to protect, preserve, and properly manage the world's tropical forests. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the quality of life of mankind is being threatened by the rapid loss of tropical rain forests worldwide.

Much of the deforestation is due to the sheer growth of the world's population and the accompanying pressures to meet basic needs. Wood remains as a basic source of fuel for cooking and heating for much of the developing countries. Forests are cleared to provide additional acreage for cash crops and to raise cattle. The expansion of cities are encroaching upon heavily forested areas.

The demand to fulfill the basic needs of mankind is understandable and a natural consequence of our growing and developing planet. It is unrealistic to believe that countries will not continue to tap their tropical forestry resources to some degree. The outright preservation of tropical forests in their untouched state should be a major portion of all countries' tropical forestry management plans. However, a sound and balanced tropical forestry management regime should be utilized for acreage already disturbed and under pressure to be used.

There exists fast-growing species of trees that can be cultivated and harvested for fuel. The technology of agroforestry is developing many new methods for growing crops and raising cattle in and among forests; multiple uses reduces the need to disturb untouched tropical forests. Certain types of fast-growing trees have been and are being identified that can be planted to provide timber for construction and thereby lessening the demand for wood milled from tropical forests.

A well-planned approach is needed if the United States is to substantively assist other countries in conserving and managing their tropical forestry resources. While our domestic

institute of tropical forests in Puerto Rico was established many years ago to assist in tropical forestry research and education in the Western Hemisphere, and separate legislation has been introduced to focus on augmenting the facilities and capacity of that institute, there exists a great need to focus assistance upon the large tropical forestry belt below the Equator that extends across the South Pacific.

I am introducing legislation today to provide the authority necessary for certain Government departments and agencies to assist in tropical forestry research and education in the South Pacific; and, to share existing and new techniques and information with the countries of the South Pacific.

The legislation provides for the establishment of the South Pacific Tropical Forestry Research and Education Center in coordination with the land grant college of American Samoa Community College. American Samoa is located south of the Equator and in the center of the South Pacific. American Samoa has close historical, cultural, and linguistic ties with most of the countries of the South Pacific and represents an ideal location to train specialists from other countries. The training will be done at a United States institution and at reasonable costs due to the relatively close proximity of Samoa to the rest of the Pacific countries and the established transportation links across the Pacific from American Samoa's international airport.

The bill also provides for the establishment of the American Samoa experimental forest. The islands have sizable tropical forestry acreage that is undisturbed as well as additional acreage that is being used. One of the most important actions that the United States can take to demonstrate leadership in the conservation of tropical forests is to provide for the proper management of our own domestic acreage. The American Samoa experimental forest will enable those individuals who are engaged in research and education to have actual test plots in which to learn and demonstrate. Specialists from other countries can verify the actual methods used and progress made in agroforestry and tropical forestry management.

The legislation calls upon certain departments to cooperate and consult in the execution of these tropical forestry initiatives in the South Pacific. Through the coordinated leadership of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior, and State, the United States can implement tropical forestry management and outreach efforts which are culturally sensitive, environmentally sound and cost effective. Efficient results are critical given today's fiscal constraints and the absolute necessity to take action that will actually improve the environment. The extension of specific international authority to the Secretary of Agriculture is seen as necessary to carry out the objectives of tropical forestry outreach.

I want to acknowledge the wide support of many of my colleagues in agreeing to cosponsor this legislation. It is fortunate indeed to have a sizable number of Members who have witnessed first hand the pressing need to provide constructive assistance in the conservation and management of the region's vast tropical forestry resources. I believe the implementation of the provisions of the International and South Pacific Forestry Cooperation Act of 1989 will significantly contribute to the pro-

tection of an extremely important component of our world's ecosystem: Tropical forests.

KHALISTAN—THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE PUNJAB PROBLEM

HON. BEN GARRIDO BLAZ

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1989

Mr. BLAZ. Mr. Speaker, around the world people are fighting to be free of despots. Today, in India, one of the major struggles for freedom in the world is taking place. It is the struggle of the Sikh nation to gain independence from the government of India.

The Sikhs ruled the Punjab from 1770 to 1849, when the British conquered the Punjab. When India won its independence from the British, there were three political parties recognized for the transfer of power: the Muslim League Party represented the Muslims; the Akali Party represented the Sikhs; and the Hindus were represented by the Congress Party.

In 1947, when India became independent, a separate country, Pakistan, was formed purely on the basis of religion, Islam. India was created for the Hindus and the Sikhs agreed to take the Punjab as their homeland, with the solemn assurance from the Hindu leaders, Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, that the Sikhs would be treated as equals in a free India.

As soon as India became independent, the majority Congress Party broke all its promises of justice and equality made to the Sikhs prior to independence. The two Sikh representatives to the Indian constitutional convention refused to sign the final draft of the constitution because it contained no guarantee of the rights of minorities. In the Indian Constitution today, the Sikh religion is not recognized, while Hinduism and Islam are.

Mr. Speaker, as we can see, the worst fears of the Sikhs have been realized. Today they are a hunted and severely persecuted people. Their most sacred religious shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, was attacked by a military force of the Indian army in 1984. As the slaughter and persecution of Sikhs increased, Sikh leaders declared their independence from India on October 7, 1987, and severed all relations with the Indian Constitution. They called their new nation Khalistan.

They did this because they recognized that it was the only means of survival available to them. Since then India has only redoubled its efforts to break their spirit and kill their patriots. I, for one, endorse that right of the Sikh people to self-determination and the pursuit of life, liberty, and religious freedom. The Young Republican Federation has recently endorsed this right of the Sikhs for freedom and independence as well. I stand with them in support of this courageous people and their God-given right to live their lives free from persecution and oppression.

Today the people of Khalistan, the Sikhs, face the devastation of genocide at the hands of the police and paramilitary forces of the Indian Government. These forces are essentially an army of occupation.

Over 80,000 Sikhs—men, women, and children have been murdered since 1984, mainly

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Statement

of

RONALD CAFFREY
Deputy Assistant Administrator for Operations
Drug Enforcement Administration

before

the

Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control
U.S. House of Representatives

concerning

The Worldwide Heroin Situation

on

July 19 1990

Dr. BOURNE. I don't know, but he was with me throughout that trip and it was my understanding that we were... that we wanted to.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control: I am pleased to appear before you today to discuss the worldwide heroin situation, as well as the narcotic enforcement efforts of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) regarding the heroin problem.

The heroin situation currently is a matter of increasingly serious concern to law enforcement and public health officials in the United States. This derives directly from two significant facts established on a continuing basis by enforcement and intelligence activities conducted by the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA)—both the supply of heroin, and the purity of that supply, have increased steadily.

World opium production has doubled in the past four years, increasing in each of the three major source areas of the world—Mexico, Southwest Asia, and Southeast Asia. Estimated total production reached 4,209 metric tons in 1989, up from an estimated 1,458 metric tons in 1985.

At the same time, the potency of this more abundant heroin also has climbed. A special DEA monitoring program was set up in 1988 to provide a continuing awareness of the street-level purity of heroin. We found that the previous traditional single-digit purity level of 3 to 5 percent had climbed to more than 50 percent in two major East Coast cities, and was 35-40 percent in two others. It is significant that over 90 percent of the exhibits analyzed in this program were of Southeast Asian origin.

Highly organized Southeast Asian trafficking groups are supplying the United States with significantly larger shipments of heroin. In the last two years, more than 50 percent of the heroin seized in the United States was from Southeast Asia, compared to 14 percent in 1985.

Another significant aspect of heroin trafficking is the increase both in the total heroin seizures in the United States and the size of the shipments that are seized. Annual domestic heroin removals quadrupled between 1981 and 1989. And, while several kilograms once constituted a major domestic seizure, four seizures of Southeast Asian heroin in the past two years have weighed between 71 and 373 kilograms. A single shipment of 1,086 kilograms, destined for the United States, was seized in Bangkok in February of 1988.

Dr. BOURNE. I don't know, but he was with me throughout that trip and it was my understanding that we were that we wanted to

DEA has put into place two specific enforcement actions, both of which I will discuss in more detail later, aimed at heroin trafficking in Southeast Asia. These operations have achieved significant results, including the seizure worldwide of 592 kilograms of Southeast Asian heroin, the arrest of several major traffickers in that area, and ongoing intelligence that spotlights the growing heroin problem.

The drug trafficking situation in the three major source areas of the world is directly linked with these pronounced concerns regarding drug abuse in the United States. In that regard, I would like to discuss with you the heroin situation in Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, and Mexico, as well as DEA's enforcement efforts targeting heroin trafficking in these areas of the world.

Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia continues to be the world's major producing area for heroin. Opium production in Southeast Asia has risen steadily since 1985 and reached an estimated average of 3,054 metric tons in 1989. In the past several years, ideal weather conditions have been the primary reason for an increase in opium production. The decrease in anti-narcotics operations in Burma and better techniques in opium poppy cultivation have also contributed to this situation.

Burma produces approximately 85 percent of Southeast Asia's opium. Burmese narcotics interdiction efforts have remained at a standstill ever since the political upheaval in that country during the summer of 1988. As a consequence, narcotics have moved unhindered from growing areas to refineries and exit points along Burma's borders. Since the military pullback from the north, narcotics have moved along major, unsecured roadways by vehicle in such large volumes that only relatively small amounts were left for opium caravans, the traditional method of moving narcotics to exit points along the border.

While relative calm continues in the urban centers, normal anti-narcotics activities have not yet resumed. It can therefore be expected that opium poppy cultivation will increase, as a result of insurgent coercion and little or no government suppression operations. Opium production during 1989/1990 was further abetted by systematic, timely planting, the use of chemical fertilizers and favorable weather conditions for opium poppy cultivations.

Smuggling of opium products generally is conducted by well-armed insurgent forces, primarily ethnic Wa elements formerly included in the defunct Burmese Communist party (BCP) and the Shan United Army (SUA). Opium is the primary source of revenue for insurgents in Burma.

Most Burmese heroin still finds its way to international markets via established routes through Thailand. Thailand's highway system expedites movement to the country's international air and sea ports. Intelligence indicates increasing use of routes to the Indo/Burmese and Bangladesh/Burmese borders. It is believed that considerable amounts also exit southeast Burmese ports along the Tenasserim coast for further transit down to the Andaman Sea thence to Western markets via southern Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

Under current U.S. Government policy, foreign aid to Burma, which includes assistance for narcotics enforcement, has been indefinitely suspended. Burma did not conduct opium poppy eradication operations during the 1989/1990 growing season. Little, if any eradication can be expected in the near future. Due to these factors, opium prices should decline further because of the abundant supplies in the Golden Triangle.

Heroin refining activity, at the Burma/Thailand border, is expected to increase because of an abundance of opium and the lack of enforcement operations which had some significant success in previous years. In addition to Burma being a major source country for narcotics transiting Thailand, it is expected that there will be an increase in opium products from Burma transiting China, India, Laos, and Bangladesh.

Thailand continues to maintain a crop eradication and narcotics law enforcement program. Cooperation with United States counterparts remains generally satisfactory, and joint refinery interdiction operations and criminal investigations have produced significant results. For example, joint operations resulted in the destruction of eight heroin refineries in 1989.

Refinery sites range from simple and temporary huts to more elaborate and permanent installations with storage and living quarters for guards and refinery personnel. Equipment varies from crude wash tubs, cooking vats, mud and rock ovens, double boiler drying ovens and opium squeeze box presses, to more sophisticated Buchner funnels, glass vacuum flasks, and heroin cookers with condensing coils.

Essential chemicals for Thailand-based refineries come from suppliers in Bangkok or southern Thailand who import them illegally from sources in Malaysia, Japan, and Western Europe.

Law enforcement efforts during 1989 resulted in the arrest of several major traffickers. These arrests contributed significantly to the disruption of trafficking organizations in the Golden Triangle. Although narcotics-related arrests increased over the previous year to an estimated 55,000, drug seizures were down. Refinery interdiction continued on a regular basis with a total of 8 heroin refineries immobilized by the year's end.

The deterioration of the situation in Burma has placed a special burden on Thailand to respond to the opium products threat on the Thai/Burma border. Thailand is essentially the only viable option that the U.S. has offering cooperation in this area.

Opium poppy planting in Thailand during 1989 stabilized at about 4,500 to 5,000 hectares. Excellent weather conditions again prevailed. Total opium yield is estimated to be 50 metric tons. Marijuana production is estimated to have decreased due in part to substantial displacement to neighboring countries, principally Laos.

Major opium product refineries continue to be located in Burma, but at least a dozen or more smaller ones have been either seized or identified within northern Thailand in the past years. Although opiate production by those refineries is usually less than the ones located across the border in Burma, some of the Thailand-based refineries have significant monthly heroin #4 production capability.

Laos is estimated to be the third largest producer of opium in the world, as well as a significant heroin refiner and substantial producer of marijuana.

Opium production in Laos has been steadily increasing since the early 1980s. Production has gone from an estimated 35 metric tons in the 1982/83 seasons, to 255 metric tons in the 1987/88 growing season to 375 metric tons (or 9% of the worldwide opium production) in the 1988/89 growing season. Indications are that this trend will continue into the 1989/90 growing season.

As in the past, these increases in cultivation of opium can be attributed to economic motivation together with favorable weather conditions, the shift of Thai and Burmese traffickers into Laos, and the lack of narcotics enforcement within the country.

Although cultivation and heroin refining activity continues in Laos, the Lao Government has recently requested assistance in the area of crop substitution and has become more vocal against drug trafficking. In early 1990, the Lao Government and the U.S. Government signed a Memorandum of Understanding on narcotics cooperation, two large-scale crop substitution projects were initiated with Laos and high-level meetings occurred between DEA and Lao Government officials. DEA has recently opened an additional office in northeastern Thailand.

Southwest Asia

Opium production in Southwest Asia for 1989 is estimated at approximately 1,098 metric tons. Some of this opium is consumed within Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan, but a large quantity is refined into heroin for illicit use worldwide.

Afghanistan has been a denied area for DEA personnel since the 1979 Soviet invasion, and reliable information is at best difficult to obtain. We do know, however, that Afghanistan continues to be a major producer of opium and hashish. There is no ban on opium poppy cultivation in Afghanistan, and indications are that little can be done by Kabul regime officials to address this matter, as they lack control over the primary opium growing areas. DEA believes that the cessation of hostilities in Afghanistan will most probably result in an increase in opium production and heroin conversion activity.

Iran is also a denied area, and most of DEA's information is based on media reporting, which indicates that several initiatives targeting illicit drug activities have been taken. In January 1989, stringent anti-drug legislation went into effect. Also, enforcement measures have been increased along Iran's borders where record seizures and arrests have allegedly been made.

Opium poppy cultivation in **Pakistan** last year continued in the more remote tribal areas of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) where the central government exercises little control. Opium produced in Pakistan is either domestically consumed or is converted into heroin in local clandestine laboratories.

The government of Prime Minister Bhutto has indicated strong support for aerial eradication. Detailed plans have been developed to use the State Department Thrush aircraft during the spray season to extend eradication into areas where topography and lack of government control have limited access.

Mexico

Mexico is a major producer of opium and continues to be a primary source of heroin entering the United States. Current estimates by U.S. officials are that 1989 net production from Mexico totalled 85 metric tons of opium.

There are two types of heroin produced in Mexico—traditional Mexican brown heroin and black tar heroin, so-called because of its dark color and gummy consistency. Black tar heroin, a crudely processed, high-purity form of heroin, is a variation of the traditional brown heroin. Because of its relatively low price and high purity levels, black tar is now the heroin of choice in several cities in the Western United States.

Illegal opium poppy cultivation in Mexico is primarily dominated by small-scale farmers, some of whom are using advanced growing techniques, such as irrigation and improved seeds and fertilizers to increase crop production. Nevertheless, in many rural areas of Mexico, the cultivation of opium poppy has remained unchanged over the past 40 years. The increasingly prevalent practice of planting small, widely dispersed fields has made aerial eradication dangerous and difficult. Growers have also responded to the application of aerial herbicides by harvesting mature sprayed plants or by washing all plants with water immediately following spraying.

In recent years, traffickers have encouraged the production of illicit crops in non-traditional growing areas. Opium poppy, traditionally grown only in the tri-state region of Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango, is now also found extensively in the states of Michoacan, Nayarit, Guerrero, Oaxaca, and Chiapas.

Heroin conversion laboratories are located throughout Mexico and are often, but not always, near cultivation sites. These heroin laboratories are usually no more than temporary set ups. The nature of illicit laboratories in Mexico makes their detection difficult; the laboratories are small, portable, and usually located in remote areas.

Heroin is trafficked through well-established smuggling lanes in Mexico. Transportation routes within country are numerous and fairly well maintained: vehicular/land smuggling is still the most favored mode for heroin traffickers to export their product from Mexico into the United States. Quantities of heroin smuggled continue to be relatively small, less than 1 to 3 kilograms average, which makes detection a difficult task.

One of the major problems of heroin enforcement has been the influence of Colombian cocaine traffickers in Mexico. The traditional Mexican heroin/marijuana trafficker, through the influence of the cocaine trade, has become a poly-drug trafficker, and is now using the established smuggling routes for cocaine. Most drug violators who deal with Mexican sources are able to obtain heroin, cocaine, and marijuana.

During the past several years, most Mexican narcotics traffickers have become involved in poly-drug trafficking by utilizing long established smuggling routes and methods. During the same time, representatives of the Colombian cocaine cartels have also used these routes to facilitate the delivery of large-scale cocaine shipments into the United States. There have also been strong indications that some of the traditional cocaine cartel members have expanded their operations to include trafficking in heroin. This development, ultimately, is expected to lead to increased heroin trafficking into the United States.

DEA's Heroin Operations

DEA's monitoring and other intelligence operations provided early and tentative indications of the significant developments regarding an increase in the heroin problem. Subsequent validation of these projects has resulted in initiation by DEA of a number of special enforcement programs and operations targeting major organizations involved in the trafficking of heroin into the United States.

Some of these activities began as early as 1986. Current special DEA efforts directly addressing the heroin situation are grouped into three major arenas:

- A focus regarding the increased trafficking of Mexican and black tar heroin into the United States, initiated in 1986, recently has been expanded to target opiates from Colombia and Guatemala, also.

This recognizes the strong nexus between the Mexican trafficking networks and the opium producers in Guatemala. It is now estimated that Guatemala in 1989 produced approximately 12 metric tons of opium. The processing of the Guatemalan opium into heroin hydrochloride has been occurring in the Mexican states of Chiapas, Guerrero, and Michoacan.

Activities of the Mexican Federal Judicial Police (MFJP) in 1990 against heroin trafficking have included the April seizure of 12 kilograms of heroin and a conversion lab at Los Mochis in Sinaloa, the May seizure of a sophisticated heroin conversion lab at Apatzingan in Michoacan, with related removal of nearly eight kilograms of heroin, the June seizure of three kilograms of heroin at Juarez, Chihuahua, and the arrest of an MFJP group leader and eight auxiliaries for taking a \$50,000 bribe from a major trafficker.

- A long-term joint intelligence and enforcement program initiated in 1989 with an ultimate goal to decrease the availability of Southeast Asian heroin in the United States.

This program draws on resources from both within DEA and from other enforcement and intelligence agencies in the United States and overseas. This program has also funded several additional initiatives, such as a water interdiction program in the Andaman Sea and a financial investigations program directed at the Chinese underground banking system.

This specific program is a direct result of the increasing impact SEA heroin is having in the United States. The basic purpose is to cause the immobilization of the major oriental narcotics organizations that are trafficking SEA heroin to, and in, the United States. These enforcement activities are directed at the highest levels of those criminal organizations, and their goal is to disrupt the flow of heroin and to prosecute the trafficking groups controlling it.

During the third quarter of FY 90, which ended June 30, these activities were responsible for the arrest of approximately 161 primary traffickers, the seizure of over 639 kilograms of SEA heroin, and the seizure of over \$2 million in currency and over \$2 million in real property and other assets.

•A similar long-term joint intelligence and enforcement program, also initiated in 1989, to decrease the availability of Southwest Asian heroin in the United States.

The Southwest Asian heroin trafficking organizations in the United States are based primarily at the major ports of entry. However, the distribution networks filter into almost every other major city in the United States.

A significant increase in resources allocated to this program was made in the third quarter of FY 90. The impact of this funding, however, will not be reflected until the fourth quarter, or later.

Several more specifically focused enforcement activities are organized under this general program. One targets a major Venezuelan based Sicilian trafficking family that controls a heroin distribution network in the United States, Canada, Italy, England and Switzerland. Another is directed against the resurgence of clandestine heroin conversion laboratories in France and Italy that impact directly on the United States.

A third targets the highest levels of Nigerian/African criminal organizations trafficking in Southwest Asian and Southeast Asian heroin into the United States. The primary source of heroin for African organizations, primarily Nigerian and Ghanaian, continues to be Pakistan and India. Recently, however, Nigerians have been documented travelling to Bangkok to obtain Southeast Asian heroin for sale in Europe and the United States. The Nigerian heroin couriers are unique in the international drug scene because they are not inhabitants of a country close to source areas of opiate drugs. Instead, they travel from Nigeria in West Africa to the Indian subcontinent to obtain the drug and transport it to Western markets.

Nigerians emerged as heroin couriers in Europe in 1984 with the arrest of 159 Nigerians in possession of 31 kilograms of heroin in nine European countries - Austria, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Over the last five years, there has been a marked increase in their activities in these countries. The existence of Nigerian communities in European and American cities provides the potential for drug distribution networks in countries on the two continents.

In summation, the seriousness of the heroin situation in the United States has increased progressively since 1980. Special monitoring programs initiated by DEA have tracked this more specifically during the past four years, and a corresponding increase has been made in current and significant enforcement activities directed against heroin trafficking.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my statement. I appreciate this opportunity to discuss the worldwide heroin situation, as well as DEA's narcotic control efforts regarding heroin trafficking. I will be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

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Dr. BOURNE. I don't know, but he was with me throughout that trip and it was my understanding that we were free to go anywhere that we wanted to.

Mr. NELLIS. That is it, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you, Mr. Nellis.

I just received a letter, Dr. Bourne. This letter is from Burma. Actually it is from Chiang Mai which is a town in northern Thailand. Its relationship is somewhat in answer to the film we saw about the Burmese claim they had destroyed 17 heroin refineries.

"We knew the Burmese did destroy some, but we could not give the exact number because there are so many heroin refineries inside Burma. The number they claimed might be true. But it is just the tip of an iceberg.

"They also said they intercepted nine convoys. I don't know what they mean by intercepted. They attacked our mule caravans every time we came from the north to the Thai border, but they were unable to stop us or capture much of our stuff. Only twice did we lose some mules, one in 1975 and one in 1976.

"Also, they said we lost 20 percent of our black gold or to be exact it was 21 mules. Each mule carried between 30 and 40 viss of black gold. On other trips the loss was negligible. About the situation inside the Shan State, talking about the Burmese operation, Moe Hein, the third stage. One column of about 2,000 soldiers crossed the river in the Karenni area near Na Aun from the south. From the north about 1,000 troops crossed the river near Mong Mai. The Burmese troops met little resistance from the different minority groups. The two columns were able to rendezvous near Mae-Oh in Mae Hong Son Province. At Mae-Oh, Lao Li's 3d KMT division lost 50 packages of No. 4 heroin and some heroin refinery equipment to the Burmese. They also lost some jade."

Actually, when we talk about that we are talking about apples and oranges unfortunately in some of these cases. The Burmese were talking about a fight they had with the KMT and not with the SUA. We are led to believe that they are knocking out some of these various minority groups. There are some letters that we also have.

I just would like to know, I did pass to you the information or a letter from Bo Mya to the President. Has that been communicated to the President?

Dr. BOURNE. I have discussed that letter with other members of the White House staff. I have not specifically discussed it with him. There is a feeling that it was not appropriate for the President of the United States to correspond with somebody who has no legitimate standing in the international arena and whose reputation is as his.

Mr. WOLFF. I find that hard to believe. If we are talking about human rights, it can't be selective areas or individuals who we speak out and say this man's human rights are the human rights to talk about.

The President has talked to people. I guess I am perhaps one of the stronger Members of the Congress regarding the question of human rights in the area of the Soviet Union, but I also feel that it is important as the question of human rights. This is a good

question of human rights. I don't think we can shield the President from a letter from anyone, whoever it might be.

Dr. BOURNE. I certainly concur with that, but I am not sure getting a letter from the President of the United States is in anyone's rights.

Mr. WOLFF. I didn't ask you for a letter. All I asked is for a letter to get to him.

Dr. BOURNE. I would be delighted to see that he is made aware of it.

Mr. WOLFF. I will send a letter under frank to him. Maybe get to him. Franked mail generally gets there first anyway.

Mr. NELLIS. Mr. Chairman, I have some documents.

Mr. WOLFF. Without objection the documents will be included in the record.

[The documents follow:]

APRIL 30,

Mr. JIMMY CARTER
The White House
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, Enclosed please find the statement of the National Democratic Front (Burma) with regard to the question of opium in the Golden Triangle. Mindful of the harmful effects of opium and its derivatives to untold numbers of people here and abroad, directly or indirectly, may I on behalf of the National Democratic Front (Burma) submit to you our statement as well as our desire to cooperate in matters pertaining to drug suppression which your government is undertaking.

Respectfully yours,

GENERAL BO MYA
Chairman, National Democratic Front (Burma)

ATG:

Copy to:—

(1) Mr. Lester L. Wolff, Congressman, U.S.A., (2) UNFEDAC.

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT (BURMA) WITH REGARD
TO THE QUESTION OF OPIUM IN THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

Narcotic problem holds the highest degree of prominence and importance in the world today. It inflicts mental and physical damage, reducing the intellectual strength of mankind. A conference on narcotics suppression was recently held in Bangkok, where the Congressman Mr. Lester L. Wolff, a New York Democrat, pointed out the necessity of assistance of all peace-loving people, even the Communists, in execution of this policy. We feel that we have the responsibility to disclose the hidden facts on narcotics in Burma.

Opium is grown in the stronghold areas of the Kachin Independence Organization, Palaung State Liberation Organization, Communist Party of Burma, La-hu Forces, Shan United Revolutionary Army, Kayan Armed Forces, Pa-O Forces, Organization and Shan United Army (see schedule A). The growers are villagers who can hardly find the chance to grow long-period crops owing to nagging wars in their areas. About 10 kilograms of raw opium can be produced on one acre of land. Usually there are two crops of opium grown each year. The first crop is grown in October and the latter in January. It is harvested within 10 days. The annual production, as derived from our taxation records, is about 438 tons of raw opium. According to Pol. Col. Pimon Jarak of BPP Region 3, Thailand, the annual production varies between 1000 to 1500 tons for Burma, Thailand and Laos.

Some percentage of the production is consumed by the opium addicts, usually 10%, in the cultivated areas and the rest is hauled abroad. This is done by traffickers, and some revolutionary armed forces escort the caravans to Thailand. Opium collected from the growers, as revenue, is sold to the traffickers in Burma or in Thailand. Not less than 60% before 1976 and about 40% after 1976 the total production is believed to have been hauled abroad through Thailand. 15% of the benefit derived from opium goes to the growers while 10% goes to the traffickers.

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revolutionary armed forces, 50% to the traffickers and 25% to the communists.

Narcotics suppression operations are reported to have been launched by Ne Win troops from 1976. They destroyed a few acres of opium grown in Shan States in 1976. Apparently due to their incapability of penetrating through our armed forces, Ne Win's troops bombarded the villages first and then alighted from helicopters and burnt down the opium fields. Ne Win's troops were quite satisfied of their deeds without knowing that opium had already been extracted from the dried poppy plants they burnt down. In some places they could manage to destroy the green poppy, about 2000 acres each year, prior to extraction of opium. In this case they captured the owner of the field and let him cut down his poppy plants at the point of their guns and left the poor villager lamenting and worrying for his family's livelihood before harvesting next crop of opium. This is a kind of inhuman and determined psychological savagery which led the villagers to resent them. After the troops leave the areas, the villager usually collects some poppy seeds and starts to work for another crop with some extension to recover the loss caused by his enemies. This is one of the answers why the production of opium does not decrease during narcotics suppression operations. Their successful operations were those of destroying two heroin refineries each in P.S.L.O. area and the Golden Triangle in 1976-77. Such refineries can be rebuilt within a few weeks. Ne Win regime is unaware of the fact that destroying of poppy plants and heroin refineries is not the solution of narcotic problem. The problem originated from, and lies in, the poverty stricken people who have no alternative of growing crops other than opium at this time. Even if the Burmese know this, they would not care the least for non-Burmese people as they have not care in the past many years.

How can we help those people? How can we substitute other crops for them in the place of opium? Are these innocent people not deserving sympathy and help from the nations of the world? Is the aim to Ne Win regime to starve and kill the peoples as the only means of narcotics suppression? Will the nations of the world leave them in the hands of murderous Ne Win troops? Are the nations of the world the broken reeds for these people? These are the questions which need to be answered. If these people did not grow opium, having the chance to grow other valuable crops, there would be no narcotic problem. If the nations of the world have human sympathy for these people the problem would be solved within a few years. Failure of narcotic suppression in Burma is the outcome of political unrest and extreme brutality of Burmese troops in those area. Who are the rebels? In fact we, who are known to the world as rebels, are the people who protect these people from genocide, the protectors of human rights. Don't we have the right to liberate our people from the tyrannical Burmese government who would not choose any alternative other than to rule or extinguish these people? We strongly believe we have that right, and we conduct an armed struggle which is our only alternative.

In order to execute the narcotic suppression policy, the free world nations must be interested in the politics of minority groups of Burma. An analysis of past and present political situation is also indispensable. Until and unless the nagging wars between minority groups and the Ne Win regime are resolved the answers will be missing. The free world nations must also be involved, either directly or indirectly, in the political affairs of Burma in the light of human rights and more in the light of narcotic suppression. If a nation's political situation is harmful to all the nations of the world, why should the free world stand by and watch it, just to stick to non-interference? One thing is definite, the U.S. Government in the previous years (from 1964, the Military Equipment Delivery Team, Annex to U.S. Embassy, 2nd Floor, Red Cross Building on Strand Road, Rangoon) has been supplying Ne Win regime with weapons to kill our hilltribes people.

Generally, the political situation in Burma can be studied in two parts, viz. that of Lower Burma and Upper Burma. Nationalist revolutionary forces in the former part comprise of Karen National Union, Arakanese Armed Forces, Mon Armed Forces, Karenni Armed Forces while KIA, PSLA, SURA, SSA, SUA, PA-O, LA-HU and Kokang Armed Forces are engaged in continuous conflicts with the Ne Win troops in the latter part. CPB is found in the region contiguous to China. Unemployment problems, economic chaos, scarcity of commodities, insufficient salary and wages of government servants, corruption and partiality in the circle of higher authorities, power struggles among the military officers are endless problems within the jurisdiction of the Burmese government; resulting in frequent uprising of students, workers, peasants and monks in every part of the country in addition, attempts at military coups. Meanwhile, the Muslims who are the second largest community in Burma and are being religiously persecuted and being denied their God-given basic human rights, are also organising to start armed struggle. The organization called Ommat

clever enough to know he cannot execute successfully. can be seen using the helicopters, given for the narcotics operations at Wangkha and many other places where opium cannot be carried by carrying arms and ammunitions to the battle field. This means the U.S. government is helping Ne Win in killing minority people of Burma.

CPB receives a strong backing, militarily and politically, from China. The nationalists are self-supported and depend solely upon opium, tax, war fund contribution from the local population and other business for their finance and weapons. It would be very hard to believe for a foreigner if we say that nearly half of the number of weapons we are using are captured from Burmese troops. The nationalists were always fighting the communists whenever they passed through their territories. Due to the great pressure of Ne Win's troops, after US aid for narcotics suppression, some of the nationalists who always opposed the communists in the past were compelled to ceasefire or alliance with CPB and accept the communists' aid to provide them with arms, ammunitions and medical supplies which are badly needed to liberate and defend their territories. Nationalists were the balance of power between CPB and Ne Win in the past. Should the nationalists be fully amalgamated with the communists, we can easily guess the result. Once the opium growing areas fall under communist domination, narcotic suppression would be out of the question without another war like that in Vietnam. Do peace-loving people wish to plunge into such war again? This is the question needs to be answered by the US government and the Free World nations.

Looking back to history, the country we call Burma today was not a country itself. There were many kingdoms in lower part of it. The northern part (Kachin Land) and the eastern part (Shan States) were ruled by the chieftains of hill tribes and saophas. During the rein of Konbaung Dynasty, Burma extended up to Meza Chyaung (60 Km south of Katha) in the north. The highland chieftains and saophas were allies of the Burmese kings. The British defeated the Burmese kings in 1885, and subsequently took possession of Shan States. With great efforts the British again negotiated with the chieftains of Kachinland and the whole colony was included in Indian Empire. The system of administration the Kachinland, Shan States and Karen State differed from that of Burma itself, in that the chiefs of the individual states were allowed full autonomy in internal administration. During the British rule, the Burmese who were politically more awakened than the minorities, demanded di-archy ruling and then further demanded a dominion separate from the Indian Empire. From that time this dominion was legally named from the Indian Empire. From that time this dominion was legally named Burma. During the World War II, the Kachins, Chins, Shans and Karens sided the British and Americans and fought valiantly against the Japanese and Burmese. There are many war veterans of allied troops still alive on the hills. At the end of the World War II, while the Burmese were demanding independence from the British, Kachinland and the Shan States also demanded independence, separate from that of Burma. The British advised the minority leaders to delay their demands until their nations could be developed, promising that they would assist in the development for a 10 year period at the end of which time independence with full sovereignty would be granted.

The Burmese leaders headed by General Aung San then approached the hill states leaders and an agreement was reached between Burmese, Kachin, Chin and Shan leaders at Panglong to give the hill states rights and privilege as well as full autonomy in internal administration and the right of secession after 10 years. When the Burmese achieved independence they failed to keep their promise of autonomy. The Karens and Pa-O were the first to take up arms against the Burmese Government, before too late, knowing that they would be among the sufferers like the Kachins, Chins and Shans. After 10 years, before coup d'etat led by General Ne Win, the Shans took up arms against the Union Government. The Kachins were quite patient until they took up arms in 1961, after a period of 13 years after the Independence. As soon as Gen. Ne Win took power in 1962 he tore up the Panglong Agreement and the Constitution of the so called Union of Burma.

The Burmese Government in the past not only failed to keep the promise of full autonomy in the states, she also failed to assist them in development. From that time opium growing increased year by year. In order to wipe out the nationalist armed forces the Burmese Government even organized and encouraged KMT and other armed groups to produce and trafficking opium at a large scale from 1954 to

Dr. Gen. Bo Mya,
Commander in Chief, The Karen National Liberation Army,
April 28, 1977.

Congressman Mr. Wolff,
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MR. WOLFF, Respectfully may I take this golden opportunity to bring to your kind notice as to how my poor innocent Karen Refugees came into existence. After having been ill-treated, forced laboured and all inhuman dealings by Ne Win Army, they have but to flee from their old abode and seek refuge in the land where they could stay free and secure and live peacefully. Their homes were burnt down with their barns and all the animals taken and the plants destroyed. The people caught were tortured. Girls or women were raped and killed. Some times they were shot at sight. The above facts created the formation of our Karen Refugees.

Our Karen people by nature will never exchange their old homes though humble it may be to a better ones, cherishing the ancestral holdings. Consequently, they landed in their present plight in the foreign land empty handed at the mercy of Sun and Rain, that is to say, hunger, strife and sickness. If you will be so good as to send an investigation team and survey these displaced persons, you will get a better view and a true fact which will be highly appreciated and will help made the fulfillment of USA long famed of guarding the Human Right on Humanitarian purposes.

I do understand that the United States of America have yearly spent millions and millions of U.S. dollars. There was an old English saying 'A friend in need is a friend indeed'. A help at a right time in a right place to a right people will really be a great assets to the giver; this I am sure you will agree with me because timing is the most important of Life's game. I hope you will understand me by your country past experience. You have paid billions and billions, at an ill time and a wrong place which has cost a great set back. To this end I do request you to kindly initiate and put up a vivid picture for us in your congress which we do look up for our people in our present deliverance for our people in our present dilemma which your country had undergone two hundred years ago. Let me again request you, to find out a plain truth, nothing but the truth, that for over 28 years we had been struggling for our freedom right up to this moment with practically no help from abroad. Therefore if the truth is known, the truth shall make us free according to the Scripture.

Our Karen Refugees extended from the hilly region of Papun District along Salween River and along the Burma-Thai border down south to Tavoy-Mergui districts. These displaced persons have to face the hardest possible life numbering approximately not less than six thousand. Up to the time of writing, the number is daily increasing, though it is not officially recorded because of the heavy pressure of the brutal Ne Win Army. The hilly innocent Karen people had to play a hide-and-seek game and hid themselves in the jungle where the enemy have no time to find them. Those fortunate people who could not hide no alternative but to come into the open and be reckoned as Refugees in Thailand. I understood that the number who had crossed over to Thailand is but a small fraction of the people who dodged and dribbled the enemy in their own locality.

Having this privilege of writing to you, may I tender this piece of information as to how our fighting for our freedom began.

As an indigenous race of Burma, we had tried our level best to have our own cozy corner by putting up to the Government of Burma democratically by peaceful means. In fact, historically this land known as Burma was once our country which had been taken by Burma. We have demonstrated as a nation wanting our own rights and privileges, but we were ignored. It was then during Prime Minister U Nu the A.F.P.F.L. Regime. Instead they tried many means to create the upheaval in the country trying to persecute us, killed and did so many untoward things to our people, to the extent of throwing hand grenades which we were holding our festivities, such as Christmas observance. There were so many instances of these impartiality even in the judicial and administrative circles pressing our people. We have even got their secret plan called "Aungmyan Operation" the plan to Genocide over Karen people. We, in short have no other means but to seek to Arms. And even this, they were the ones who started the ball rolling.

May I be given the chance of reminding you in respect of the helicopters given to the Burmese Government by your state with the full understanding for use in Narcotic Suppression, is nothing but a farce and misused gift of honour. Over a month old fighting in Wankha a place on the Burma-Thailand border was a good proof. Not

1. The Burmese Government couldn't care less about the systems of agriculture and difficulties in communication of hill regions, while they took a good measure in developing Burma proper with the income derived from the minority States. In 1963 Win government called on all minority groups to negotiate and a period of ceasefire was agreed upon. During the ceasefire, Burmese troops took positions throughout the country. A strength of over 1000 soldiers of the Karen troops led by Hunter Thahmwe negotiated with the Ne Win troops and joined them, however, Burmese again failed to keep their promises reached during negotiation, and subsequently executed the Karen military strongman Brigadier Lin Htin. Negotiations between other groups was broken down and from that time Ne Win troops started genocide, murdering innocent people in the hills, which resulted the whole Burmese population turning against Ne Win regime. In 1969 Ne Win troops retreated back from the Kachinland leaving a few battalions on the plains and their concentration changed to Lower Burma where CPB and Karen were quite strong. Ne Win changed his tactics on K.I.A. He started to create riots among the tribes of Kachinland. His puppets were U Ding Ra Tang, a member of Rawang Tribe of the Kachinland and one of the signatories of Panglong Agreement and Shan elders of Kachinland. There occurred conflicts between Rawang and K.I.A. but the matter was settled within a few months after the general public of Rawang Tribe (one of the six tribes of Kachins) realized the situation and eventually joined the K.I.A. Ne Win again organized the Shans, but they could only organize in Monyin Township, where over 3000 Kachin inhabitants had to flee in 1976, from their villages leaving their paddy fields, cattle and other immovable properties in the hands of Ne Win troops. They robbed properties and murdered children, aged people and men who could not escape. According to the reports received to date, the number of victims was 72. Ne Win also bribed a young Kachin, graduated from the Rangoon Institute of Economics, to assassinate top leaders of K.I.O., Maj. Gen. Zau Seng, Vice Chief of Staff Brigadier Zau Tu and General Secretary Pungshwi Zau Seng. Their aim is to divide and rule the national ethnic groups. Coldblooded and mass murder in every ethnic area by Ne Win troops is quite common. In some parts of the country they captured the villagers, conscripted their properties and drove them to near the towns and left them starving there. Whenever they are badly hit by the Shans, they usually get so wild and take revenge on the villagers living near the Shans and the prisoners they had captured. They would become worse than bloody wild beasts. Sometimes we are doubtful whether humanism and humanism still exist in this world, because the leaders of the Free World Nations, who always talking about the protection of human rights, are watching the massacre wonder when shall we, together with our people, escape from this bloodshed.

2. The free world nations and the U.S. Government, protection of human rights and narcotic suppression are the major themes. On the other hand, liberation and development of our bereaved people are our major themes. Peaceful life is the goal and long awaited token of justice for our hill people. Power and "Great Man" policy are the major themes of the Burmese Government. We must solve the quadrilateral, most suitable to say a triangle, as we and our people are unable to solve it if we keep any one of them aside. We would not be able to solve it if we keep any one of them aside. We must solve the triangle with great efforts leaving out one side of the triangle. We will be happy to assist in solving this problem effectively for mutual benefit. We, a small section of humanity, consider that it is a sacred duty to help any nation in eradicating this scourge mankind.

In view of the above statement, it is quite apparent that the U.S. Government or other nation interested in the suppression of narcotics will have to choose either to persist in giving aid to an extremely oppressive, unpopular and ineffective Ne Win regime to solve the drug problem;

2) to cooperate with the just, popular and potentially effective revolutionary elements of the national minorities who are in the position to directly influence the growth and trafficking of opium, to curb it.

It is up to the U.S. Government and the Free World Nations to decide.

LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN WOLFF CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN BURMA FROM GEN. BO MYA

LT. GEN. BO MYA,

Commander in Chief, The Karen National Liberation Army,
April 28, 1977.

Congressman Mr. WOLFF,
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MR. WOLFF, Respectfully may I take this golden opportunity to bring to your kind notice as to how my poor innocent Karen Refugees came into existence. After having been ill-treated, forced laboured and all inhuman dealings by Ne Win Army, they have but to flee from their old abode and seek refuge in the land where they could stay free and secure and live peacefully. Their homes were burnt down with their barns and all the animals taken and the plants destroyed. The people caught were tortured. Girls or women were raped and killed. Some times they were shot at sight. The above facts created the formation of our Karen Refugees.

Our Karen people by nature will never exchange their old homes though humble it may be to a better ones, cherishing the ancestral holdings. Consequently, they landed in their present plight in the foreign land empty handed at the mercy of Sun and Rain, that is to say, hunger, strife and sickness. If you will be so good as to send an investigation team and survey these displaced persons, you will get a better view and a true fact which will be highly appreciated and will help made the fulfillment of USA long famed of guarding the Human Right on Humanitarian purposes.

I do understand that the United States of America have yearly spent millions and millions of U.S. dollars. There was an old English saying 'A friend in need is a friend indeed'. A help at a right time in a right place to a right people will really be a great assets to the giver; this I am sure you will agree with me because timing is the most important of Life's game. I hope you will understand me by your country past experience. You have paid billions and billions, at an ill time and a wrong place which has cost a great set back. To this end I do request you to kindly initiate and put up a vivid picture for us in your congress which we do look up for our people in our present deliverance for our people in our present dilemma which your country had undergone two hundred years ago. Let me again request you, to find out a plain truth, nothing but the truth, that for over 28 years we had been struggling for our freedom right up to this moment with practically no help from abroad. Therefore if the truth is known, the truth shall make us free according to the Scripture.

Our Karen Refugees extended from the hilly region of Papun District along Salween River and along the Burma-Thai border down south to Tavoy-Mergui districts. These displaced persons have to face the hardest possible life numbering approximately not less than six thousand. Up to the time of writing, the number is daily increasing, though it is not officially recorded because of the heavy pressure of the brutal Ne Win Army. The hilly innocent Karen people had to play a hide-and-seek game and hid themselves in the jungle where the enemy have no time to find them. Those fortunate people who could not hide no alternative but to come into the open and be reckoned as Refugees in Thailand. I understood that the number who had crossed over to Thailand is but a small fraction of the people who dodged and dribbled the enemy in their own locality.

Having this privilege of writing to you, may I tender this piece of information as to how our fighting for our freedom began.

As an indigenous race of Burma, we had tried our level best to have our own cozy corner by putting up to the Government of Burma democratically by peaceful means. In fact, historically this land known as Burma was once our country which had been taken by Burma. We have demonstrated as a nation wanting our own rights and privileges, but we were ignored. It was then during Prime Minister U Nu the A.F.P.F.L. Regime. Instead they tried many means to create the upheaval in the country trying to persecute us, killed and did so many untoward things to our people, to the extent of throwing hand grenades which we were holding our festivities, such as Christmas observance. There were so many instances of these impartiality even in the judicial and administrative circles pressing our people. We have even got their secret plan called "Aungmye Operation" the plan to Genocide over Karen people. We, in short have no other means but to seek to Arms. And even this, they were the ones who started the ball rolling.

May I be given the chance of reminding you in respect of the helicopters given to the Burmese Government by your state with the full understanding for use in Narcotic Suppression, is nothing but a farce and misused gift of honour. Over a month old fighting in Wankha a place on the Burma-Thailand border was a good proof. Not